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A REPRINT FROM

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Organ of
THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

VOLUME 56, NO. 3 JUNE, 1954

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Matrilineality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

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UNILINEAL descent and uxorilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:212) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilineal but patrilocal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilinearity or unilocality of the group in question is questionable. For example, Leach and Fortune (1947:488) claim the Kawa people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Mandalay 1922; Shway-Goldberg 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Kawa is verified by Murdock (1956). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the coexistence of matrilineality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilineal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of systems of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Considerations of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from matrilineality to matrilineality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilineality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

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of dowry, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality [2]. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1956).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1948:973). However, a necessary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of savage raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the mouth of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:6-8). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanos (Baena 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their warriors were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:39). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867:369). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

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175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The rubber trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

56.1 [60] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 1000. The communities were located, in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

Tribal Integration

69 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the communal clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outsiders." "Outsiders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outsiders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the group. The customs and rules of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

678 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

72.6 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
678 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
192 tion. Since post statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

"The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

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that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabé*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[1] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabé* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibé, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *dïwai*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dïwai* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudïwai, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

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formed indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Manduruca village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarers. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabé* (*tabé* person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che kurikí ajawat*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabé* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabé*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kokawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kiriñi clan (large *kiruba* tree) has a subclan named Kiriñinan (a small species of *kiruba* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet, "companion."

The clan had no territorial basis in the nineteenth century, and little significant function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

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which was pertinent to each member's given name. However, the class appeared as a powerful force in tribal imagination and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Terms		*Referential*	
a'jut	father's father, mother's father	a'jut dja	father's father, mother's father
ewak	father's mother	ewak ewk	father's mother
a'jung	mother's mother, father's sister	a'jung -djung	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father, father's brother	ee bai, bai bai	father
a'i	mother, mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
wuyd	mother's brother, father-in-law, elder brother, elder cross and parallel male cousin	a'ig, a'i	mother
+ kit	sister's son, son-in-law; younger brother, younger cross and parallel cousin	a'i	mother's sister
da ß	sister, cross and parallel female cousin, daughter; brother's and sister's daughter, son's and daughter's daughter	+ djum	mother's brother, father's sister's son
+ sun	brother-in-law (of same age), age mate of opposite moiety	wuyd yi	elder brother, elder mother's sister's son; elder brother's brother's son
bihi'i,		+ kit pit, + kit kit	younger brother, younger mother's sister's son, younger father's brother's son
ruipi	son, brother's son	ee dii	sister, father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
uipi	daughter's and son's son	da ß ß	father's sister's daughter
		ee dii	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		+ pit	son, brother's son
		+ ee dii	daughter, brother's daughter
		sadawydeh	grandchildren (all categories)

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The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *aiuak*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avunculate, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avunculate marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *ue ede*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avunculate marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *ue ede* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avunculate marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avunculate marriage. Although contemporary Munduruca informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:122) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Munduruca kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avunculate marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Munduruca marriages at one time. Murdock states (ibid:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

"Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Munduruca considered themselves to be related to all other Munduruca by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Munduruca emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

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to the opposite one. Finally, when a Munduruc is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

Extension of kin terms was complete in Munduruc society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "elder" (*ocu ka*) or "younger (*e kat*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*kebit*) and "grandsons" (*aapi*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjuag*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ki*).

In the opposite moiety, the Munduruc had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*aapi*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*cawyk*) and "younger (*e kat*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*e cun*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awak*), "mother" (*ai ki*), and "daughter" (*da ki*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Munduruc could, and still can, place every other Munduruc in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguineal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

The picture of Munduruc society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Munduruc intervillage connections.

The social structure of the Munduruc village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Munduruc village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the eastern extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the north row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Munduruc men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of six different clans were present.

When a Munduruc married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which communities were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized.

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arrow and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed a great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

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their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow classmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc always involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

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the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local units, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *saúa* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, roasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *farja* or made into manioc flour for the cruder. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest women of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

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women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilineal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilineal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *ewabebakat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in patrimatrial residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilineality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Munduruc, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[9]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Munduruc ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely ceremonial nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruak belonged to the Wawe clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Munduruc culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Munduruc social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952: 49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954: 755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Munduruc society was as viable as most social sys-

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591 tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary in-
179 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Munduruú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Munduruú society.

604 According to Martius (1867:393), the Munduruú were apparently patri-
179 local, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man,
591 however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (*Ibid.*:392). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (*Ibid.*:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of his terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avunculate marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Herman (1940:111-12) state that avunculate marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avunculate marriage had this function among the Munduruú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Munduruú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

604 The reader will remember that contemporary Munduruú informants
179 specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncu-
591 lar marriage, and this form of marriage was not collected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avunculate marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological hesitation on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which could disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:130), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

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Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Munduruú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Munduruú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Munduruú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:320-23) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American main forest. The Munduruú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Munduruú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Munduruú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Munduruú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of uniclanal clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phyletic affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surviving that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precursor and premarital stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1956) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring Tupian groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multiclanal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[9] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female matrilocal residence group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Reesa 1963: 243-244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1948: 319). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilineality in the chief's line would have been magnified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be unreasonable to surmise that the patrilineal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú manifest by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration attained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineage. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineage to the matrilineage is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in turn, are well-nigh impossible" (Murdock 1949: 210-17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Murphy (1957: 360) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilineal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of the custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

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adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not integrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilineality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (*Ibid*:219) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (*Ibid*:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilineality overcame in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avunculate marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilineality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the *rubber trade*, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (*Ibid*:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more closely deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum could range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936), through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldenweiser 1968, Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the unilineal patrilineal clan (Titiev 1963). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a multi-lined not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture centers, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate in codeterminancy with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the cultural process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilineality to matrilineality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

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NOTES

* The field research on which the paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

* For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and e have the phonetic values of Spanish i and e; ü is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ã are nasal sounds.

* The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on terminological systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the operative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

* The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the lanzone." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep connection between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purposes, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

* The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance of women.' Eggan (1950:131) views the convenience of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

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